



John Carter Brown.

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[Bacon, Pa.]

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A
DECLARATION
OF THE DEMA-
NOR AND CARIAGE OF
SIR WALTER RALEIGH,
Knight, as well in his Voyage, as
in, and thence his Returne;

*And of the true motives and induce-
ments which occasioned His Maiestie
to Proceed in doing Iustice vpon him,
as hath bene done.*



LONDON,
Printed by BONHAM NORTON
and IOHN BILL, Printers to the
Kings most Excellent Maiestie.
M.DC. XVIIII.

DECLARATION
OF THE DEMEA
NOR AND CARRIAGE OF

MR WALTER RALPH



RPJC

Printed by BOWMAN NORTON
and John B. L. Printers to the
M. de 27111.



JOHN CARTER BROWN



Although **KINGS**
 be not bound to giue
 Account of their Acti-
 ons to any but **G O D**
 alone; yet such are his
MAIESTIES procee-
 dings, as hee hath al-
 wayes beene willing to bring them before
 Sunne and Moone, and carefull to satisfie
 all his good people with his Intentions
 and courses, giuing as well to future times
 as to the present, true and vndisguised De-
 clarations of them; as iudging, that for
 Actions not well founded, it is aduantage
 to let them passe in vncertaine Reports;
 but for Actions, that are built vpon sure
 and solide grounds, (such as his Maiesties
 are) it belongeth to them, to bee published
 by open manifests: Especially his Maie-
 stie is willing, to declare and manifest to

A

the

the World, his proceedings in a case of such a nature as this which followeth is; since it not onely concernes his owne people, but also a forreine Prince and State abroad.

Accordingly therefore, for that which concerneth Sir *Walter Raleigh* late executed for Treason (leauing the thoughts of his heart, and the protestations that hee made at his death to God that is the searcher of all hearts, and Iudge of all Truth) his Maiestie hath thought fit to manifest vnto the world, how things appeared vnto himselfe, and vpon what Proofes and euident Matter, and the Examination of the Commaunders that were employed with him, in the Voyage, (and namely of those which Sir *Walter Raleigh* himselfe by his owne Letter to Secretarie *Winwood*, had commended for persons of speciall worth and credit, and as most fit for greater employments) his Maiesties proceedings haue bin grounded, whereby it will euidently appeare how agreeable they haue beene in all points to Honour and Iustice.

Sir

SIR *Walter Raleigh* hauing beene condemned of high Treason, at his Maiesties entrance into this Kingdome, and by the space of fourteene yeeres, by his Maiesties princely Clemency and Mercy, not onely spared from his Execution, but permitted to liue, as in *Liberâ custodiâ* in the Tower, and to enioy his Lands and Liuing, till all was by Law euicted from him vpon another ground, and not by forfeiture; (which notwithstanding, his Maiestie out of his abundant Grace gaue him a competent satisfaction for the same) at length, hee fell vpon an Enterprise of a golden Mine in *Guiana*.

This proposition of his, was presented and recommended to his Maiestie by Sir *Ralph Winwood*, then Secretary of State, as a matter not in the Aire, or speculatiue, but reall, and of certaintie; for that Sir *W. Raleigh* had seene of the Oare of the Mine with his eyes, and tried the richnesse of it. It is true, that his Maiestie, in his owne princely iudgement, gaue no beleeve vnto it; as well, for that his Maiestie was verely

perswaded, that in Nature there are no
 such Mines of gold entire, as they descri-
 bed this to bee; and if any such had beene,
 it was not probable that the Spaniards,
 who were so industrious in the chase of
 Treasure, would haue neglected it so long;
 as also for that it proceeded from the per-
 son of Sir *Wal. Raleigh*, inuested with such
 circumstances both of his disposition and
 fortune: But neuerthelesse Sir *W. Raleigh*
 had so enchanted the world, with his con-
 fident asseueration of that which euery
 man was willing to beleue, as his Maie-
 sties honour was in a manner ingaged, not
 to deny vnto his people the aduenture and
 hope of so great Riches, to bee sought and
 atchieued, at the charge of Voluntaries;
 especially, for that it stood with his Maie-
 sties Politique and Magnanimous courses,
 in these his flourishing times of peace, to
 nourish and incourage Noble and Gene-
 rous enterprises, for Plantations, Discou-
 ries, and opening of new Trades.

Heereupon the late Spanish Ambassa-
 dour, the *Count de Gondomar*, tooke
 great

great alarme , and represented vnto his Maiestie by loud and vehement assertions, vpon iterated audiences, that he knew and had discovered the intention and enterprise of Sir *W. Raleigh* to bee but Hostile and Piraticall , and tending to the breach of the Peace betweene the two Crownes, and danger and destruction of the King his Masters Subiects in those parts ; protesting in a sort against the same. To which his Maiesties answere alwayes was, that he would send Sir *Walter Raleigh* with a limited Commission, and that hee durst not vpon perill of his head attempt any such matter ; and if hee did, hee would surely doe iustice vpon him, or send him bound hand and foot into *Spaine* , and all the gold and goods he should obtaine by Robbery, and bring home, were they neuer so great. And for further caution, his Maiesty enioyned Secretary *Winwood* , to vrge Sir *Walter Raleigh* vpon his conscience, and alleageance to his Maiestie, to deale plainely, and expresse himselfe, whether hee had any other intention , but onely to goe to those

golden Mines in *Guiana*, which hee not onely solemnely protested vnto the saide Sir *Ralph Winwood*, but by him writt a close letter to his Maiestie, conteining a solemne profession thereof, confirmed with many vehement asseuerations, and that hee neuer meant or would commit any outrages or spoiles vpon the King of Spaines Subiects. But notwithstanding, his Maiestie acquainted the Spanish Ambassadour with this his protestation; yet the said Ambassadour would neuer recede from his former ieaiousie, and importuning his Maiestie to stay his voyage, alledging that the great number of shippes that Sir *Walter Raleigh* had prepared for that voyage, shewed manifestly, that hee had no such peaceable intent; and offering (vpon Sir *Walter Raleigh* his answere thereunto, that those ships were onely provided for his safe conuoy) that if Sir *Walter Raleigh* would goe with one or two ships onely to seeke the said Mine, that hee would mooue the King of Spaine to send two or three ships with him backe
again

again for his safe conuoy hither with all his gold; And the said Ambassadors person to remaine here in pledge for the King his Master his performance thereof. But such were the constant faire Offers of the said Sir *Walter Raleigh*, and specious promises, as his Maiestie in the end reiected the importunate Suit of the said Spanish Ambassadour for his stay, and resolved to let him goe: but therewithall tooke order, both that hee, and all those that went in his company, should finde good securitie, to behaue themselues peaceably towards all his Maiesties Friends and Allies; and to obserue strictly all the Articles of the Commission, which his Maiestie for that cause, had the greater care to haue it well and clearely penned, and set downe. And that his Maiesties honest intention may heerein the better appeare, the words of the Commission are heerein inserted, as followeth.

J A M E S

2004



I A M E S, by the grace
of G O D, &c. *To all
to whom these presents
shall come, to bee read,
heard, or seene, and to euery of them
greeting. Whereas Sir W. Raleigh
Knight, intendeth to vndertake a
voyage by Sea and shipping, vnto the
South parts of America, or elswhere
within America, possessed and inha-
bited by heathen and sauage people, to
th'end to discouer and finde out some
commodities and merchandizes in
those Countries, that be necessary and
profitable for the Subiects of these
Our Kingdomes and Dominions,
whereof the Inhabitants there make
little or no vse or estimation; where-*

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upon

upon also may ensue by trade & com-
 merce, some propagation of the Chri-
 stian Faith, and reformed Religion a-
 mongst those sauage and Idolatrous
 people : And whereas We are cre-
 dible informed that there are diuers
 Merchants and Owners of Ships,
 and others, well disposed to assist the
 sayde Sir VValter Raleigh in this
 his enterprise, had they sufficient as-
 surance to enioy their due parts of the
 profits returned (in respect of the pe-
 rill of Law wherein the saide Sir
 VValter Ralieghe now standeth :)
 And wheras also We are informed,
 that diuers other Gentlemen, the
 kinsmen and friendes of the sayde Sir
 VValter Raleigh, and diuers Cap-
 taines and other Commanders are
 also desirous to follow him, and to ad-
 uenture

uenture their liues with him, in this his Journey, so as they might be commanded by no other then himselfe.

Know yee, that We, vpon deliberate consideration had of the premisses, being desirous by all wayes and meanes to worke and procure the benefit and good of Our louing Subiects, and to giue Our Princely furtherance to the sayde Sir VValter Raleigh, his friendes and associates heerein, to the incouragement of others in the like laudable Iourneys and enterprizes, to bee heereafter prosecuted and pursued; and especially in aduancement and furtherance, aswell of the conuersion of sauage people, as of the increase of the Trade, Traffique, and Merchandizes vsed by Our Subiects of this Our Kingdome, being most
 B. 2 famous

*famous throughout all Nations: Of
 Our speciall grace, certaine know-
 ledge, and meere motion, haue giuen
 and granted, & by these presents for
 Vs, Our Heires, and Successours, doe
 giue and graunt vnto the saide Sir
 W. Raleigh, full power and autho-
 ritie, and free licence and libertie out
 of this Our Realme of England or
 any other Our Dominions, to haue,
 carry, take, and leade, for and to-
 wards his said intended voyage into
 the said South parts, or other parts of
 America (possessed and inhabited,
 as aforesaide) and to trauell thither,
 all such and so many of Our louing
 Subiects, or any others strangers that
 will become Our louing Subiects, and
 liue vnder Our obeysance and allea-
 geance as shall willingly accompany
 him,*

him, with sufficient Shipping, Armour, Weapons, Ordinance, Munition, Powder, Shot, Habiliments, Victuals, and such Wares and Merchandizes, as are esteemed by the wilde people in those parts, clothing, implements, furniture, cattle, horses, and mares, and all other such things as he shall thinke most necessary for his voyage, and for the vse and defence of him and his company, and trade with the people there; and in passing and returning to and fro, and in those parts to giue away, sell, barter, exchange, or otherwise dispose of the same goods, merchandizes and premisses to the most benefit, and at the will and pleasure of the saide Sir Walter Raleigh and his company, and such other person or persons, as

shalbe aduenturers or assistants with, or
 vnto him in this his intended voyage,
 & from thence to return, import, con-
 uey, & bring into this our kingdom, or
 any other Our Dominions, such gold,
 siluer, bullion, or any other wares, or
 merchandizes, or commodities what-
 soeuer, as they shall thinke most fit and
 conuenient; and the same being so re-
 turned, imported, conueyed, and
 brought into this our Kingdome, or a-
 ny other our Dominions, to haue, take,
 keepe, retaine, and conuert to the on-
 ly proper vse, benefit, and behoofe of
 the sayd Sir W. Raleigh and his
 sayd Company, and other persons ad-
 uenturers and assistants with or to
 him in this voyage, without the let, in-
 terruption, molestation, and distur-
 bance of Vs, Our Heires or Succes-
 sours,

sours, or any the Officers or Mi-
nisters of Us, Our Heires or Succes-
sours whatsoeuer, Paying and answere-
ring unto Us, Our Heires, and Suc-
cessours the full fift part in fve parts
to be diuided, of all such gold, and
siluer, and bullion, and oare of gold or
siluer, and pearle, and precious stone,
as shalbe so imported ouer and besides,
and together with such Customes,
Subsidies and other duties, as shall
bee due for or in respect of any other
Goods, Wares, or Merchandizes
whatsoeuer to be imported by the true
meaning of these presents. And to
the end the sayd Sir W. Raleigh
may be the more encouraged to go for-
ward in this his enterprize, and all
our louing Subiects desirous to bee ad-
uenturers with him or assistant vnto
him,

him, may bee the more incited to further his proceedings : We doe heereby in verbo Regio, for Vs, Our Heires and Successours, couenant, promise, and grant, to and with the sayd Sir W. Raleigh and all other persons that shall accompany him or to bee attendant vpon him, or to bee aduenturers or assistants with or to him in this his voyage, that no gold, filuer, goods, wares, or merchandizes whatsoever of what kinde or sort soeuer, by him or them or any of them to bee imported into this Our Kingdome of England, or any other our Dominions from any the sayd South or other parts of America, (possessed or inhabited as aforesayd) shalbe attached, seized or taken by Vs, Our Heires or Successours, or to the vse of Vs, Our Heires

Heires or Successours, or by any the
 Officers or Ministers of Vs, Our
 Heires or Successours whatsoeuer;
 But that the same and euery of them
 (the fift part of the sayd gold, siluer or
 bullion, and oare of gold and siluer
 and pearle and precious stone, and o-
 ther the Customes and duties afore-
 sayd being truly answered and payd)
 shall bee, and remaine to the sole and
 proper vse and behoofe of the sayd
 Sir W. Raleigh and his sayd com-
 pany, and such persons as shall be ad-
 uenturers with him, or assistant to him
 in this his voyage, Any Law, Statute,
 Act of Parliament, Proclamation,
 Prouision, or restraint, or any right,
 title or clayme of Vs, Our Heires or
 Successours, or any other matter or
 thing whatsoeuer to the contrarie

in any wise notwithstanding. And further, of Our more especiall grace, certaine knowledge, and meere motion, Wee doe hereby for Vs, Our Heires, and Successors, ordaine, constitute and appoint the sayd Sir W. Raleigh to be the sole Gouvernor and commaunder of all persons that shall trauell, or be with him in the sayd voyage, to the sayd South, or other parts of America (so possessed and inhabited as aforesayd) or in returning from thence. And Wee doe hereby giue vnto him, full power and authority to correct, punish, pardon, gouerne and rule them or any of them, according to such orders, ordinances, constitutions, directions, and instructions, as by the sayd Sir W. Raleigh shall bee from time to time established, aswell
in

in cases capital and criminall, as ciuill,
 both Marine and other ; So alwayes
 as the sayd Statutes, ordinances and
 proceedings (as neere as conueniently
 may be) bee agreeable to the Lawes,
 Statutes, Gouvernment and Policy of
 this our Realme of England, and not
 against the true Christian faith now
 professed in the Church of Eng-
 land. And because that in
 such and the like enterprises
 and voyages, great inconueniences
 haue growne by the mutinous and dis-
 orderly carriage of the Marriners
 and Saylor's employ'd in the same,
 for want of sufficient authoritie to
 punish them according to their offen-
 ces : We doe therefore by these pré-
 sents for Vs, our Heires and Succes-
 sors, giue full power and authority to

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the said Sir Walter Raleigh, in case of rebellion, or mutiny by sea or land, to vse and exercise Marshall law (vpon iust ground and apparent necessity) in as large and ample manner as Our Lieutenant Generall by sea or land, or Our Lieutenants in Our Counties, within Our Realm of England, haue, had, or ought to haue by force of their Commission of Lieutenancie. And Wee doe further by these presents, giue full power and authoritie to the said Sir Walter Raleigh, to collect, nominate and appoint such Captaines and other inferior Commanders and Ministers vnder him, as shalbe requisite for the better ordering and gouerning of his companie, and the good of the voyage. And further, We doe
by

by these presents, for Us, Our Heires and Successors, straightly charge and Command the Warden of Our Cinque-ports, and all the Customers, Comptrollers, Surueyers, Serchers, Waiters and other Officers and Ministers of Us, Our Heires and Successors for the time being, that they, and euerie of them doe quietly permit and suffer the said Sir Walter Raleigh, and all person and persons that shalbe willing to trauell and aduenture with him in this voyage with their Ships, Munition, Goods, Wares and Merchandizes whatsoeuer out of this Our Realme, or any other Our Dominions, to passe into the said South or other parts of America, (possessed and inhabited as aforesaid) and from thence to re-

turne and import into this Our
 Realme, or any other our Domini-
 ons, any Goods, Wares or Mer-
 chandizes whatsoever, and there to
 sell or otherwise to dispose of the same,
 to the best benefit and aduantage, and
 to the onely vse and behoofe of the
 said Sir Walter Raleigh and his
 companie, and such other persons as
 shalbe aduenturers with him in this
 voyage, paying the fift part of all
 gold and siluer, bullion, and oare of
 gold and siluer, and of pearle and pre-
 tious stone imported, and other the
 Customes and Duties aforesaid. And
 these Presents, or the inrollement
 thereof shalbe vnto the said Warden
 of the Cinque-ports, Customers,
 Comptrollers and other the officers &
 ministers aforesaid, for the time be-
 ing

ing a sufficient Warrant and discharge in that behalfe. And our Will and pleasure is; And by these presents, for Vs, our Heires and Successors, Wee doe grant vnto the said Sir VValter Raleigh, That these our Letters Patents, or the Inrollement therof, and all and singular grants, clauses and things therein contained, shalbe firme, strong, sufficient and effectuall in Law, according to our gracious pleasure and meaning herein expressed; Any Law, Statute, Act, Prouision, Ordinance or restraint, or anie other matter or thing to the contrarie thereof in any wise notwithstanding. Although expresse mention &c. In Witnesse whereof &c. Witnesse
our

*our selfe at Westminster, the sixe
and twentieth day of August, in the
fourteenth yeare of our Reigne of
England, France and Freland,
and of Scotland the
fiftieth.*

**Per breue de priuato
Sigillo.**

This

THis Commission so drawne and framed(as as you see) his Maiestie himselfe did oft perule and reuise, as foreseeing the future euent; the tenor whereof appeareth to be so farre from giuing Sir *Walter Raleigh* warrant, or colour to inuade any of the Territories, occupate and posselt by the Spaniards, as it tended to a direction, rather of commerce, then spoile, euen towards the Sauages themselves. And the better to containe Sir *Walter Raleigh*, and to hold him vpon his good behauiour, his Maiestie denied (though much sued vnto for the same) to grant him pardon for his former treasons, both to disauthorise him with those, that were vnder his Cōmand, (in case he should attempt to exceede his Commission) and to reserue him to the Iustice of the Law, if by new offences hee should make himselfe indigne of former mercies. And as for the good securitie which his Maiestie ordered to be taken, for their good and peaceable behauiour in the voyage; his Maiestie neuer heard any thing to the contrary but that it was performed,

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formed till they were vpon their parting; and then was it told him, that euery one of the principals that were in the voyage, had put in security one for another, which if his Maiestie had knowen in time, hee would neuer haue accepted of.

But howsoever the Commission was penned; and whatsoever the cautions were which his Maiestie intended or vsed, and whatsoever the protestations and promises were, that Sir *Walter Raleigh* made or exhibited, it appeareth plainly, by the whole sequell of his Actions, that he went his owne way, and had his owne ends: First, to procure his libertie, and then to make new fortunes for himselfe, casting abroad onely this tale of the Mine as a lure to get aduenturers and followers; hauing in his eye the *Mexico* Fleete, the sacking and spoyle of Townes planted with Spaniards, the depredation of Ships, and such other purchase; and making account, that if he returned rich, hee would ransom his offences (little looking into the nature and Character of his Maiesties

Iustice

Iustice and gouernment) and if otherwise, he would seeke his fortune by flight, and new enterprises in some forraine Countrey.

In execution therefore of these his designs, Sir *Walter Raleigh* carrying the reputation of an actiue, wittie, and valiant Gentleman, and especially of a great Commander at Sea, by the inticement of this golden baite of the Mine, and the estimation of his owne name, drew vnto him many braue Captaines, and other Knights and Gentlemen of great blood and worth, to hazzard and aduenture their liues, and the whole, or a great part of their estates and fortunes in this his Voyage: whose ruines and decayes following, remaine as sad and grieuous reliques and monuments of his vnfortunate iourney, and vnfaithfull proceedings.

But before hee went from *London*, hee was not so referued, nor so constant vnto his pretence of the Mine, but that some sparkes brake foorth of that light, which afterwards appeared. For hee cast foorth

some words to some particular friends of his Company, That hee knew a Towne in those parts, vpon which hee could make a sauing Voyage in *Tobacco*, though there were no other spoile. Neuerthelesse, to make the better faith of that he had giuen out touching the Mine, he promised his Companie at *London*, that when he came to *Plimouth*, hee would take a great company of Pioners out of the West, (where best workemen are of that kind) and hee maintained this his pretence so farre, as hee billited the sayd Pioners for seuerall ships; but when he came into the West this vanished. For it is testified of all parts, and by himselfe confessed, that he carried none at all, excusing it, that there were many other tall men of the Mariners, and common Souldiers, that he would haue made fall to worke; which is a slender excuse of omitting so principall a point. As for Pickeaxes, Mattockes and Shouels for the working of the Mine, it is true he carried some small quantitie for a shew, but by the iudgement of all that were in his companie,

nie, nothing neere sufficient for that which had been requisite for the working of the Mine, which he excused onely by saying, that his men neuer saw them vnpacked, and that the Mine was not past a foote and a halfe vnder ground.

After, when hee was once at Sea, hee did not much labor to nourish and maintaine the beliefe, that he meant to make his voyage vpon the profite of the Mine, but fell a degree, as if it were sufficient to bring home certainty and visible prooffe, that such a Mine there was, though hee brought not the riches of it. For soone after his setting foorth from *Ireland*, hee professed, that if hee brought home but a handfull or basket full of Oare, to shew the King, hee cared for no more, for it was enough to saue his credit; and being charged therewith, hee confessed the speech, with this argument and inference, that if there had beene a handfull of the Mine, it followed there was a Mine to be confessed; as if so many Ships, so many liues of men, such charge of prouisions, and such an ho-

nourable Commission, had beene but for an experiment.

About the same time likewise, he began to forget his Commission, aswell as his pretences of the Mine; for hee did declare himselfe to diuers of his company, that hee meant to take *St. Thomé*, and that he would make his voyage good vpon that Towne, for that it was very rich; So as where it was blowne abroad, that the assault of *Saint Thomé* was inforced by a kinde of necessity, for that our Troupes were first assailed, it appeareth manifestly, both by his speech at *London*, of a Towne indefinitely, and by this his speech carely in his voyage at Sea of *St. Thomé* by name, that it was an originall designe of his from the beginning: And yet it is confessed by all, that the parts of *Guiana*, where *St. Thomé* was scituate, were planted by Spaniards, who had diuers Townes in the same tract, with some Indians intermixed, that are their Vassals, so as it is plaine, both place and persons were out of his Commission.

And that this was well knowne to him
it ap-

it appeares notably in a letter of his owne hand, written since his returne from his voyage, wherein hee complains, that the Spaniards of the same place did murder diuers of his men, which came in peace to trade with them, some seuen yeeres past; neither doeth he in that letter, any way decline his knowledge, that those parts Were inhabited by the Spaniards, but stands vpon a former title, which hee would needs now haue strengthened by a new possession; notwithstanding that this his pretence is no way competible with his Commission, and that himselfe before his going neuer made ouerture, or allegation of any such pretext, nor so much as intimated, or insinuated any such designe or purpose.

Againe, before hee came to the Islands, hee made no difficultie to tell many in expresse termes, that hee meant to surprise and set vpon the *Mexico* Fleete, though sometimes hee would quallifie it, by saying, *If all failed, or if the Action of the Mine were defeated.*

And Sir Walter Raleigh himselfe being charged

charged with these speeches, confessed the words, but saith, that in time, they were spoken after the Action of the Mine was defeated; and that it was propounded by him, to the end, to keepe his men together, and if he spake it before, it was but discourse at large.

After, when hee began to be vpon the approaches of his pretended designe of the Mine, and was come to *Trinidad*, hee fell sicke in some extremitie, and in doubt of life (as was thought) at what time hee was mooued by some principall persons about him, vpon two points, in case hee should decease: The one, that hee would nominate a Generall to succeed him; The other, that hee would giue some direction for prosecution of the Action of the Mine. To the first hee made answere, that his Commission could not bee set ouer, and therefore left them to agree of that among themselues: but for the Mine, hee profest hee could giue them no direction; and stayed not there, but told them, there was another course
which

(which hee did particularize vnto them to bee a French Commission, whereby they might doe themselves most good vpon the Spaniards.

When hee was vpon recouerie, he dispatched the Land-forces pretended for the Mine, and had designed Captaine *Sentleger* to command in that Expedition: but by reason of *Sentlegers* infirmitie at that time, hee resorted to his kinsman Captaine *George Raleigh*, who was his Sergeant Maior; in whose written Commission which he gaue him, he was wary enough not to expresse the taking of *St. Thome*, but onely inserted a clause of Commandement; *That they should in all things obey him, as they would doe to himselfe in person*: yet in priuate directions and instructions, hee did open himselfe to diuers of his Company, that in case they should not receiue some aduertisement, that the Towne was reinforced by new supplies of men (whereby the enterprise might bee of too great hazard for their number) they should take the Towne first, telling them,

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that

that the Mine was but three miles distant short of the Towne, and inferring (as *Kemish* expounded it afterwards) that it was in vaine to meddle with the Mine, except the Towne were first taken, and the Spaniards chased; for that otherwise, they should but discover it, and worke it for the Spaniards: and when hee had opened himselfe thus farre, some of his company, of the more intelligent and duetifull sort, did in plain terms turn it vpon him, setting before him, that the taking of the Towne, would breake the Peace, and that they should goe against the Commmission: Whereupon, most falsly and scandalously, hee doubted not with confidence to affirme, that he had order by word of mouth from the King and his Councell, to take the Towne, if it were any hinderance to the digging of the Mine.

But the euent did sufficiently expound and manifest the direction; and yet that kinde of interpretation little needed, for that yong M. *Raleigh*, (who was likest to know his fathers secret) when he ledde his
soul-

souldiers vpon the Towne, vsed these or the like words, *Come on my hearts, here is the Mine that ye must expect, they that looke for any other Mine, are fooles*; And with this did well concurre that which followed, in the prosecution of the Mine after the Towne was taken; For this Mine was not onely imaginary, but moueable, for that which was directed to bee 3. miles short of Saint Thomé, was after sought 30. miles beyond S. Thomé.

All this while Sir W. Raleigh staid at Pont d'égallo, by the space of some 9. weekes, during which time it was much noted by those that remained with him, that the speech of the Mine was dead, (wheras men in expectation do commonly feede themselves with the talke of that they long to heare of;) Nay more, after he had receiued newes of the taking of the Towne, which had beene the fittest time to pursue the enterprize of the Mine, (in regard the Towne that might haue beene the impediment was mastered) hee neuer entertained any such designe, but contrariwise, hauing

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knowledge at the same time, that his son was slaine, (who as it seemes was his onely care amongst the Land souldiers) he did moouue very inhumanly, to remooue not a little from *Pont degallo* to *Port-hercule* in respect of the danger of the Current (as hee pretended) but to goe for the *Charibes* many leagues off; accompting (as it seemeth) the land Souldiers, but as *fruges consumere natos*, and hauing his thoughts onely vpon Sea forces, which how they should haue beene imployed, euery man may iudge. And whereas some pretence is made by him, as if hee should leaue some word at *Pont degallo* of direction, to what place the land Souldiers should follow him; it is plaine, he knew them at that time so distressed for victuall, as famine must haue ouertaken them, before they could ouertake him; at which time one of his Capitaines told him, that he had deliuered out 52. men to that seruice, which were then at the enterprize on Land, whose liues hee held at a deare rate, and that he would not weigh Anchor, as long as he had a Cable
to

to ride by, or a Cake of bread to eate : So Sir *W. Raleigh* finding no consent in that which hee propounded, that cruell purpose was diuerted.

It was also much obserued, that after that vnfortunate returne of *Kemish*, notwithstanding Sir *W. Raleigh* did publiquely giue out, that hee would question him for failing to prosecute the Mine, hee had him at Dinner, and Supper, and vsed him as familiarly and as kindly as before. And to *Geo. Raleigh* the Sergeant Major, to whom he did vse the like discountenances in publique, who tooke it more tenderly, and complained, and brake with him about it; he did open himselfe more plainly, telling him that hee must seeme to doe as much as he did, to giue satisfaction.

After all this, when the prosecution of this imaginarie Mine vanished, and was defeated, and that his Company cast a sad eye homewards, finding they were but abused, Sir *Walter Raleigh* called a Councell of his Captaines, and helde the same in his Cabbine, where hee propounded to

them, that his Intention and designe was; First, to make to the New-found lands, and there to revictuall and refresh his Ships; And thence to goe to the Westerne Islands, and there to lie in waite to meeete with the *Mexico* Fleete, or to surprise some Carrackes; and so hauing gotten treasure, which might make him welcome into any forreine Countrey, to take some newe course for his future fortunes, valuing himselfe as a man of great enterprife, and fame abroad; but then and at diuers times, hee did directly, and openly declare, that it was no coming for ENGLAND, for that he knew not how things would be construed, and that he (for his part) would neuer put his head vnder the Kings girdle, except hee first saw the great Seale for his pardon.

At which time, his cogitations imbracing East and West, rather then any returne into his Countrey, hee did in particular make promise to a principall Commander in his Company, to giue him a Ship to goe into the East Indies, if hee would

would accompanie him thither. But according to his first proiect, hee went to the New found Land, which hee needed not to haue done, if his purpose had been for *England*, (for that hee had victuals enough, and to spare, for that iourney) and there at New found Land his other company hauing formerly disperfed and forsaken him, his owne companie which was in his owne Ship began likewise to mutine. And although some old Pirates, either by his inciting, or out of feare of their owne case, were fierce and violent for the Sea, and against the returne, yet the far greater number were for the returne; at which time himselfe got aland, and stood vpon the Sea banke, and put it to a question, whether they should returne for *England*, or land at New found Land: Whereupon there was a diuision of voyces, the one part to the *Starreboard*, and the other to the *Larboard*; of which that part which was for the returne for *England*, was two parts of three, and would by no meanes be drawen to set foote on land,
but

but kept themselves in the Ship, where they were sure they were masters; which hee perceiving, for feare of further mutinie, professed in dissimulation, that hee himselfe was for the returne into *England*, and came and stood amongst them that had most voyces; But neuerthelesse, after that he despaired to draw his companie to follow him further, hee made offer of his owne Ship (which was of great value) to his company, if they would set him aboard a French Barque: The like offer he made, when hee came vpon the Coast of *Ireland*, to some of his chiefe Officers there.

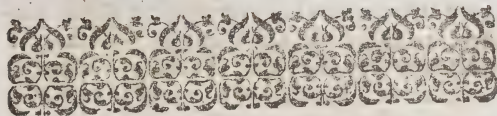
But about the time of his arriuall vpon the coast of *Ireland*, the forcing and sack-
ing of Saint *Thomé*, and the firing of the Towne, and the putting the Spaniards to the sword, was noysed abroad in all parts, and was by speciall aduertisement comne vnto the knowledge of the *Count de Gondomar*, then Ambassador for the King of Spaine with his Maiesty, who therevpon prayed audience of his Maie-
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sty, and with great instance demanded Iustice against the persons, and their goods (who had committed those outrages and made those spoyles vpon his Maiesties subiects) according to his Maiesties promise, and the treaty of Peace. Whereupon his Maiestie published his Royall Proclamation for the discouery of the truth of *Raleighs* proceedings, and the aduancement of Iustice. Notwithstanding all which, his Maiestie vsed a gracious and milde course towards Sir *Walter Raleigh*, sending downe Sir *L. Stucley* Vice-admirall of the Countie of Deuon, to bring Sir *Walter Raleigh* in faire manner, and as his health would giue leaue, by easie iourneyes to *London*. For about this time Sir *Walter Raleigh* was comne from *Ireland* into *England*, into the Port of *Plimouth*, where it was easie to discerne with what good will hee came thither, by his immediate attempt to escape from thence; For soone after his comming to *Plimouth*, before hee was vnder guard, he dealt with the Owner of a French Barque (pretending
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ng it was for a Gentleman a friend of his) to make ready his Ba: que for a passage, and offered him twelue Crownes for his paines : And one night he went in a little Boate to haue seene the Barque that should haue transported him, but the night being verie darke, hee missed of the Barque, and came backe againe, nothing done; wherein by the way appeares, that it was not any traine laide for him by Sir *Lewis Stucley* or any other (as was voyced) to mooue or tempt him to an escape, but that hee had a purpose to flic, and escape from his first arriuall into *England*.

But in this his purpose, he grew to be more resolute, and fixed, after that the Lords of his Maiesties Councell, obseruing the delaies in his comming vppe, had sent vnto *Stucley*, some quicke letters for the hastening thereof : But thereupon, as his desire of escape encreased, so did the difficulty thereof increase also; for that *Stucley* from that time forth kept a better guard vpon him, whereof he tooke that apprehension, in so much as (knowing *Stucley* to bee
witty

witty and watchfull) hee grew to an opinion that it would bee impossible for him to escape, except hee could winne one of these two points; either to corrupt *Stucley*, or at least to get to haue some liberty, when he came to London, of remayning in his owne house; for guiltinesse did tell him that vpon his comming to London, it was like hee should bee laid prisoner in the Tower. Wherefore he saw no other way, but in his iourney to London, to counterfeit sicknesse in such a manner, as might in commiseration of his extremity, moue his Maiesty to permit him to remaine in his owne house, where he assured himselfe ere long, to plot an opportunity of an escape: And hauing in his company one *Mannowry* a French man, a professor of Physicke, and one that had many *Chymicall* receipts, hee practised by Crownes, and promised to draw him into his consort, the better to make faith of his counterfeiting to be sicke, the story whereof, *Mannowry* himselfe reporteth to haue passed in this manner.



V Pon Saturday the 25. of Iuly, Sir *walter Raleigh*, Sir *Lewis Stucley*, and *Mannowry* went to lie at Master *Drakes*; where the Letters of Commission from the Priuie Councell were brought vnto Sir *Lewis Stucley*, by one of his Maiesties messengers, which caused a sudden departure, with much more haste then was expected before: and the countenance of Sir *walter Raleigh* was much changed after Sir *Lewis Stucley* had shewed the Commission; for *Mannowry* sawe him from the staire-head (hee beeing alone in his chamber, the doore standing halfe open) how hee stamped with his feete, and pulled himselfe by the haire, swearing in these words, *Gods wounds, is it possible my fortune should returne vpon me thus againe?*

From Master *Drakes* they went on their iourney to the house of Master *Horsley*, distant from thence foure miles, or thereabouts. It was in that houre that Sir *walter Raleigh* began first to cause *Mannowry* to bee sounded, what was in his heart, by an olde domesticke of his called Captaine *King*, who there began to discourse

vnto *Mannowry* of the infortunitie of his Master, and amongst other things, sayd thus; *I would wee were all at Paris, To whome Mannowry answered, I would wee were all at London, alas, what should wee doe at Paris? Because,* quoth King, *that as soone as wee come to London, they will commit Sir Walter Raleigh to the Tower, and cut off his head:* Whereupon *Mannowry* answered, That hee hoped better then so, and that hee was sorrie for his ill fortune; and that according to his small abilitie, hee was ready to doe him all honest seruice hee could, so it might bee done without offence.

After dinner, it being Sunday, *Sir Walter Raleigh* departed from Master *Horsley* his house, and went to *Sherburne*, and in the way when hee came within view thereof, turning to *Mannourie*, and shewing him the place and the territorie about it, hee sayd vnto him sighing, that all that was his, and that the King had vniustly taken it from him. Hee and *Stucley* lay not at *Sherburne*, but were inuited to the house of olde Master *Parham*: *Mannowry* and their traine went to lie at *Sherburne*, at the signe of the George. The next day, being Munday, the seuen and twentieth of Iuly, *Mannowry* went to them, and from thence they tooke their way towards *Salisbury*, fīue and thirty miles from *Sherburne*; and arriuing there, *Sir Walter Raleigh* going afoote downe the hill, addressed himselfe

vnto

vnto Mannowry, and asked him if hee had any of his Vomits, or other Medicines ; which hee telling him that he had, he prayed him to make one ready against the next morning, and to tell no body therof. *I know quoth he) that it is good for me to euacuate many bad humours, & by this means I shall gaine time to worke my friends, giue order for my affaires, and, it may bee, pacifie his Maiesty before my comming to London ; for I know well, that assoone as I come t here, I shall to the Tower, and that they will cut off my head, if I use no meanes to escape it ; which I cannot doe, without counterfeiting to be sicke, which your vomits will effect, without suspicion.* For which cause the same euening, as loone as he arrived, he laide him downe vpon a bedde, complayning much of his head, and blaming his great dayes journey from Sherborne to Salisbury, (notwithstanding he supped very well) but after supper hee seemed to bee surprised with a dimnesse of sight, by a swimming or giddinesse in his head, and holding his hand before his face, hee rose from his bed, and being ledde by the arme by Sir Lewis Stucley, hee staggered so, that hee strooke his head with some violence against a post of the gallery before his Chamber, which made Sir Lewis Stucley thinke that hee was sicke indeed; in which beleefe Mannowry left him for that time.

The next day in the morning, he sent his Lady his wife, and most of his seruants to London,
and

and also Captaine *King* : and *Cuthbert* and *Mannowry*, and Sir *Lewis Stucley* being in *Stucleys* chamber, a seruant of the saide Sir *Walter* named *Robine*, came and told them that his Master was out of his wittes, and that hee was naked in his shirt vpon all foure, scratching and biting the rushes vpon the Plankes, which greatly pitied Sir *Lewis Stucley*, who rising in haste, sent *Mannowry* to him, who when hee came, found him gotten againe to his bed, and asking him what he ailed, he answered, he ailed nothing, but that hee did it of purpose. And Sir *Walter Raleigh* asking him for his vomit, hee gaue it him, who made no bones, but swallowed it downe incontinentlie : At which time Sir *L. Stucley* comming in, Sir *Walter* began againe to crie and raue ; Then *Mannowry* went out of the Chamber, and the vomit which hee had giuen him was an houre and a halfe before it wrought, but in the meane time Sir *Walter Raleigh* beganne to drawe vp his legges and armes all on a heape, as it had beene in a fit of Conuulsions, and contractions of his Sinewes ; and that with such vehemencie, that Sir *Lewis Stucley* had much adoe with the helpe of others to pull out streight, sometimes an arme, sometimes a legge ; which against all the strength they had, he would draw vp againe as it was before ; whereat the sayd Sir *Lewis Stucley*, tooke great compassion, causing him to be well rubbed and chafed ; which Sir *Walter Raleigh* himselfe afterwards

afterwards told vnto *Mannowry*, laughing that he had well exercised Sir *Lewis Stucley*, & taught him to be a Physitian.

This fained fitte being thus past, Sir *walter Raleigh* called *Mannowry*, and when he came, hee prayed him to stay by him, and said hee would take some rest. *Mannowrie* shut the doore, and being alone with him, Sir *walter Raleigh* tolde him, That his vomite had done nothing as yet, and said, that hee would take another more violent; but *Mannowry* assuring him, that without doubt it would worke, hee contented himselfe, and asked *Mannowry* if hee could inuent any thing, that might make him looke horrible and loathsome outwardly, without offending his principall parts, or making him sicke inwardly: *Mannowry* studied a little, and then tolde him, that hee would make a Composition presently, of certaine things which would make him like a Leper from head to foote, without doing him any harme, which at his intreatie hee effected speedily; at which time Sir *walter Raleigh* gaue him the reason, why hee did it, telling him that his beeing in that case, would make the Lords of the Counsell affraide to come neere him, and mooue them with more pitie to fauour him. Soone after that *Mannowry* had put this Composition vpon his Brow, his Armes, and his Breast, Sir *Lewis Stucley* came into the Chamber, and *Mannowry* went away, and Sir *Lewis Stucley* perceiuing the places where *Man-*

nowry had put this Composition to be all pimpled, his face full of great blisters of diuers colours, hauing in the middest a little touch of yellow, and round about like a purple colour, and all the rest of his skinne as it were inflamed with heate, hee beganne to apprehend the danger of the disease, that it was contagious, and being very much astonished at the suddaine accident, he asked *Mannowry* what he thought thereof, but *Mannowry* iudged it fit to conceale it from him at that time, seeing Sir *walter Raleigh* had not yet tolde him, that hee meant to flie out of *England*, but that it was onely to gaine time to satisfie his Maiestie.

Vpon *Mannowry* his vncertaine answere to Sir *Lewis Stucley* touching Sir *walter Raleigh* his maladie, *Stucley* resolved to goe to my Lord Bishop of *Elie*, now of *Winchester*, to relate vnto him in what case Sir *walter Raleigh* was, and brought vnto *Raleigh* two Physicians to see and visite him; who being come, could tell nothing of what humour the saide sicknesse was composed. There came also a third, a Bachelour in Physicke, who all could not by all that they could doe, discover this disease; Onely they gaue their opinion and aduise, that the Patient could not be exposed to the Ayre, without manifest perill of his life, and thereof they made their report in writing, vnto which *Mannowry* also set his hand.

Sir *walter Raleigh*, seeing that all these things
fell

fell out according to his intention, was exceedingly contented thereat, especially that in the presence of the sayde Physicians, the vomit beganne to worke both vpwards and downewards. And because he doubted that the Physicians would aske to see his water, hee prayed *Mannowry* to doe something to make it seeme troubled and badde; which to content him, (giuing him the Vrinall into his bedde) *Mannowry* rubbed the inside of the glasse with a certaine Drugge, which as soone as hee had made water therein, the Vrine euen in the hands of the Physicians, turned all into an earthy humour, of a blackish colour, and made the water also to haue an ill saour, which made the Physicians iudge the diseale to be mortall and without remedy, but from Heauen.

Hee made *Mannowry* also to tie his armes about with blacke filke ribband, which hee tooke from his Poyniard, to trie if it would distemper the pulse, but that succeeded not, as hee thought it would. The day following hee called *Mannowry*, and prayed him to make some more such blisters vpon him, as vpon his nose, his head, his thighes, and his legges: which *Mannowry* hauing done, it succeeded according to his desire, for which he was very iocund and merry with *Mannowry*, and sayde vnto him, that the euacuation which his physicke had caused, had so opened his stomacke, that he was exceeding hungry, and prayed *Mannowry* that hee would goe and buy

him some meat secretly; for, quoth he, if I eate publicly, it will bee scene that I am not sicke; so according to his request, *Mannowry* went to the *White-hart* in *Salisbury*, and bought him a legge of Mutton and three loaves, which he ate in secret, and by this subtilty it was thought that he liued three dayes without eating, but not without drinke: Thus hee continued vntill Friday the last of *July*, seeming alwayes to be sicke in the presence of company, and neuerthelesse, beeing alone, hee writte his Declaration or Apology, and prayed *Mannowry* to transcribe it, which was since presented to his Maiestie.

The same euening Sir *Lewis Stuckley* discoursing vpon his sicknesse, and whence it should proceed, Sir *Walter Raleigh* saide in these words, *As God saue mee, I thinke I haue taken poyson where I lay the night before I came to this Towne; I know that Master Parham is a great louer of the King of Spaine, and a Papist, and that hee keepes alwayes a Priest in his house; but I will not haue any of you to speake of it, nor you Mounsier* (quoth hee) speaking to *Mannowry*. Also Sir *Walter Raleigh*, his Chamber doores beeing shutte, walked vp and downe, and only *Mannowry* with him, there naked in his shirt, and tooke a looking glasse, and looking vpon the spots in his face, whereat he tooke great pleasure, and laughing, said vnto *Mannowry* these words, *we shall laugh well one day, for hauing thus cozened and beguiled the King, his Counsell, and the Physitians, and the Spaniards and all.*

Vpon

Vpon the Saturday that his Maiestie arriued at Salisbury, which was the first of August, Sir *walter Raleigh* desired to speake with *Mannowry* in secret, and seemed to haue a verie great apprehension of some thing, and hauing made him shut the doores, prayed him to giue him a redde leather coffer, which was within another coffer, which when hee had, hee was a good while looking in it, and then called *Mannowry*, and putting nine peeces of Spanish money of gold into his hand, hee saide thus; *There is twenty Crownes in Pistolets, which I giue you for your Physicall receipts, and the victuall you bought mee; and I will giue you fiftie pound a yeere, if you will doe that which I shall tell you, and if it happen that Sir Lewis Stucley doe aske you what conference you had with mee, tell him that you comfort mee in mine aduersity, and that I make you no other answere then thus, as is here written, which hee had already written with his owne hand in a little peece of paper for Mannowries instruction, as followeth:*

Vela M. Mannowry L' acceptance de tout mes trauaux, pertie de mon estat, & de mon fils, mes maladies & douleurs. Vela L' effect de mon confidence au Roy. Which paper of Raleighs hand writing Mannowry produced.

And now Sir *Walter Raleigh* beganne to practise with *Mannowrie*, and to tell him that hee would flie and get himselfe out of England, and that if *Mannowry* would aide him in his

escape, it was all in his power: and that Sir Lewis Stucley trusted in no bodie but Mannowry, whereupon Mannowry made him an ouerture, that at his comming to London he should keepe himselfe close in a friends house of Mannowries in Shire-lane in London, whereunto he seemed to encline, and found Mannowries aduise good for a while; but in the end hee told him, that hee was resolued otherwise, and that hee had already sent Captaine King to hire him a Barke below Grauesend, which would goe with all windes, and another little boate to carrie him to it; For, quoth hee, to hide my selfe in London, I should be alwayes in feare to be discovered by the generall searchers that are there; but to escape, I must get leaue to goe to my house, and being there, I will handle the matter so, that I will escape out of the hands of Sir Lewis Stucley by a backe-doore, and get mee into the boate; for no bodie will doubt that I can goe on foote, seeing mee so feeble, as I seeme to bee. And then Raleigh hauing mused a while, without speaking, Mannowrie asked him, Sir, wherefore will you flie? your Apologie, and your last Declaration, doe not they iustifie you sufficiently? Then all in choler, Raleigh answered him in English thus; Neuer tell mee more; a man that feares is neuer secure; which fashion of his put Mannowry to silence for that time.

Now there rested nothing but his Maiesties Licence, to permit him to goe to his owne house,

house, without which (hee sayde) hee could not possibly escape. This Licence was after granted him by the meanes of Master Vice-chamberlaine, and Master Secretarie Naunton; which being obtained, Mannowry tooke occasion to say to him, *That heereby one might see, that his Maiesty had no meaning to take his life, seeing that hee suffered him to goe to his owne house to recover his health. No (quoth Raleigh) they used all these kindes of flatteries, to the Duke of Byron, to draw him fairely to the prison, and then they cut off his head ; I knowe that they haue concluded amongst them, that it is expedient that a man should die, to reasssure the Trafficke which I haue broken in Spaine. And thereupon brake foorth into most hatefull, and Trayterous wordes against the Kings owne Person, ending in a menace and brauery, That if hee could saue himselfe for that time, hee would plot such plots, as should make the King thinke himselfe happy to send for him againe, and render him his estate with aduantage; yea and force the King of Spaine, to write into England in his fauour.*

Mannowry at that time did aske him further, if hee escaped, what should become of Sir Lewis Stucley ? and whether hee should be put to death for him or not, and whether hee should loose his Office and Estate ? *Not to death (quoth Raleigh) but hee will be imprisoned for a while, but his landes the King cannot haue, for that they are already assured to his eldest sonne;*

Sonne; and for the rest, it was no part of his care. Mannowry further asked him, if it were not Treason in himselfe to be ayding to his escape; No (quoth hee) for that you are a stranger; nevertheless, you must not bee knowne of any thing, for then you will bee sure to bee put in prison. In conclusion, Mannowry demaunded of him yet further, But what if it be discovered, that I had any hand in your escape? why (quoth hee) follow mee into France, (that is your Countrey) and quit all, and I will make you amends for all.

After, Raleigh went on his iourney to Andouer, and so to Hartford-bridge, and from thence to Staines, during which time, Sir Lewis Stucley being made acquainted by Mannowry with Raleigh his purpose to escape, vsed extraordinary diligence in guards and watches vpon him; which Raleigh perceiuing, saide to Mannowry at Staines; I perceiue well, it is not possible for mee to escape by our two meanes alone, Stucley is so watchfull, and sets such strait guard vpon mee, and will bee too hard for vs, for all our cunnings; therefore there is no way but to make him of our counsell; and if wee can perswade him, to let mee saue my selfe, I wil giue him in hand two hundred pounds sterling worth: and thereupon drew forth a Jewell, and shewed it to Mannowrie, and gaue it into his hand, made in the fashion of haile powdered with Diamonds, with a Rubie in the midst, which hee valued at a hundred and fiftie pound sterling, and said, Besides this Jewell, hee shall

shall haue fiftie pound in money; I pray you goe tell him so from me, and perswade him to it, I know he will trust you.

Mannowrie went presently to *Stucley*, and told him as before, and concluded with him, that *Mannowrie* should report backe to *Raleigh*, that hee would accept of his offer, and bade him tell *Raleigh* also, that hee was content to doe as hee desired; but hee would chuse rather to goe away with him, then to tarie behind with shame and reproach; and hee bade *Mannowrie* aske him further, how hee thought hee could doe this, without loosing his Office of Vice-Admirall, which cost him sixe hundred pounds, and how they should liue afterwards; and to what place they should go, and what meanes he would carie with him, to furnish this intended escape; which *Mannowrie* did, and was answered by the said *Raleigh*, and prayed to tell *Stucley*, that if hee would sweare vnto him, not to discouer him, hee would tell him his whole intent; and that for the first point, though *Stucley* should loose his Office, yet hee should bee no looser vpon the matter; and for afterwards, as soone as hee was gotten into *France*, or *Holland*, his wife was to send him a thousand pounds Sterling, and that hee caried with him onely a thousand Crownes in money and Jewells to serue for the present in his escape. But after supper, *Raleigh* said vnto *Mannowrie*, Oh, if I could escape without *Stucley*,

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I should doe brauely; But it is no matter (said hee) *Ile carie him along, and afterwards Ile dispatch my selfe of him well enough.* And after, *Mannowrie* relating all that had passed, to *Stucley*, brought them together, at which time *Raleigh* shewed the *Iewell* to *Stucley*; and hee making shew to bee content, prayed him a little respite to dispose of his Office; whereupon *Mannowrie* seeing them so accorded vpon the matter in appearance, tooke his leaue of them to goe to *London*; and in the morning *Mannowrie* vpon the taking of his leaue, said to *Raleigh*, that hee did not thinke to see him againe while hee was in England; Whereupon *Raleigh* gaue him a Letter directed to *Mistris Herrys of Radford*, that shee should deliuer him an yron fornace with a Distillatory of Copper belonging vnto it, and charged him to tell euery man hee mett, that hee was sicke, and that hee left him in an extreme loosenesse that very night.

BVt *Raleigh* hauing formerly dispatched a messenger to *London*, to prepare him a Barque for his escape, came at last to *London*, and hauing wonne his purpose, (by these former deuices of feigned sickenesse) to bee spared from imprisonment in the Tower, and to bee permitted to remaine at his owne house,
till

till his better recouery; there fell out an accident, which gaue him great hopes and encouragement speedily to facilitate his intended designe for escape. For as he came on his way to *London*, in his *Inne at Brentford*, there came vnto him a Frenchman named *La Chesnay*, a follower of *Le Clere*, last Agent here for his Maiesties dearest brother the French King; who tolde him that the French Agent was very desirous to speake with him, as soone as might be after his arriuall at *London*, for matters greatly concerning the sayd Sir *Walters* weale and safetie; as in effect it fell out, that the very next night after his arriuall at *London*, the said *Le Clere*, and *La Chesnay* came vnto him to his house, and there did the said *Le Clere* offer vnto him a French Barque, which hee had prepared for him to elcape in, and withall his *Letters recommendatory for his safe conduct and reception to the Gouvernour of Calis, and to send a Gentleman expressly that should attend and meete him there;* to which offer of his, *Raleigh* after some questions passed, *finding the French Barke*

not to bee foready, nor so fit as that himselfe had formerly provided, gaue him thanks, and told him that he would make vse of his owne Barke, but for his Letters, and the rest of his offer, he should be beholding to him, because his acquaintance in France was worne out. So passionately bent was hee vpon his escape, as that hee did not forbear to trust his life, and to communicate a secret importing him so neere, vpon his *first acquaintance, and vnto a stranger*, whom he hath since confessed *that he neuer saw before*. And thus after two nights stay, the third night hee made an actuall attempt to escape, and was in Boate towards his Shippe, but was by *Stucle*y arrested, brought backe, and deliuered into the custodie of the Lieutenant of the Tower.

For these his great and hainous offences, in actes of Hostilitie vpon his Maiesties confederates, depredations, and abuses, as well of his Commission, as of his Maiesties Subiects vnder his charge, Impositions; Attempts of escape, declining his Maiesties Iustice, and the rest, evidently prooued

prooued or confessed by himselfe; he had made himselfe vtterly vnwoorthy of his Maiesties further mercy: And because he could not by Law bee iudicially called in question, for that his former attainer of Treason is the highest and last worke of the Law (whereby hee was *Ciuititer mortuus*) his Maiestie was inforced (except Attainders should become priuiledges for all subsequent offences) to resolute to haue him executed vpon his former Attainder.

HIs Maiesties iust and honourable proceedings being thus made manifest to all his good Subjects by this preceding Declaration, not founded vpon coniectures or likelyhoods; but either vpon confession of the partie himselfe, or vpon the examination of diuers vn suspected witnesses, he leaues it to the world to iudge, how he could either haue satisfied his owne Iustice, (his honourable intentions hauing bene so peruered and abused by the sayd Sir *W. Raleigh*) or yet make the vprightnesse of the same his in-

tentions appeare to his dearest Brother the King of *Spaine*; if he had not by a Legal punishment of the Offender, given an example, aswell of terrour to all his other Subjects, not to abuse his gracious meanings, in taking contrary courses for the attaining to their owne vnlawfull endes; as also of Demonstration to all other forreigne Princes and States, whereby they might rest assured of his Maiesties honourable proceeding with them, when any the like case shall occurre: By which meanes his Maiestie may the more assuredly expect and claime an honourable concurrence, and a reciprocall correspondence from them, vpon any the like occasion. But as to Sir *Walter Raleigh* his confession at his Death, what he confessed or denied touching any the points of this declaration, his Maiestie leaues him and his conscience therein to God, as was said in the beginning of this Discourse. For Soueraigne Princes cannot make a true iudgement vpon the bare speeches or asseuerations of a delinquent at the time of his death,

death, but their iudgement must be founded vpon examinations, reexaminations, and confrontments, and such like reall proofes, as all this former discourse is made vp and built vpon; all the materiall and most important of the said examinations being taken vnder the hands of the examiners that could write, and that in the presence of no fewer then sixe of his Maiesties priue Counsell, and attested by their alike seuerall subscriptions vnder their hands, which were my Lords, the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, the Lord *Verulam*, Lord Chauncellor of *England*, the Earle of *Worcester* Lord Priuy Seale, Master Secretary *Naunton*, the Master of the Rolls, and Sir
Edward Coke.

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